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'ISLAM LOVERS' ROUTED

"Maulana Syed Abul Ala Maududi, chief of the Jamaat-i-Islami, today expressed the confidence that the nominees of the Jamaat would sweep the polls while the socialists were doomed to suffer a total defeat." Dawn, December 7, 1970.

The people of Pakistan gave a crushing defeat to the reactionary politicians posing as "Islam lovers" and trying to safeguard the unjust social order in the country. In Pakistan's first general elections, the oppressed and exploited masses gave an overwhelming support to the parties standing on the platform of progressive reforms. In East Pakistan, where the economic issues are mixed with the demand for regional autonomy, the lopsided victory of Awami League reflected people's awareness of economic problems and their desire for social change. In the Western wing, the spectacular triumph of a young political organization, the Peoples Party,

PRESTIGE FIGHTS

The election contest between Mr. Z.A. Bhutto and Dr. Javed Iqbal in Lahore constituency No. 3 was turned into a trial of strength by the Jamaat-e-Islami and other right wing parties. Dr. Iqbal, son of Allama Iqbal, ran on the ticket of CML but Jamaat had staked her prestige over this contest. Maulana Maududi had stated that Mr. Bhutto's victory would be a "slur" on Lahorites and his defeat a decisive victory of Islam over socialism. Neither the money of Punjabi feudal lords, nor the association with an illustrious father, nor Maulana Maududi's fatwas could save Javed from a crumbling defeat. He got 33,815 votes against Bhutto's 78,086.

Another constituency where Jamaat supported a conservative intellectual and staked the name of "Islam" was the seat in Sukkur where A.K. Brohi was soundly beaten by Ali Hassan Manghi, who later joined PPP.

In West Pakistan, where the outcome was less certain and the contradictions were deeper than in East Pakistan, challenges and counter challenges were common. For example Mr. Khuhro warned that Larkana will become Bhutto's Waterloo, but he could not get half as many votes as Mr. Bhutto got. Every other seat Mr. Bhutto contested had become a prestige fight for the right wingers. Mr. Bhutto won five and lost one--and that too not against a right winger. Mufti Mahmood of JUI-Hazarvi was the winner in the D.I. Khan contest. Air Marshall Asghar's election was also considered a test case but he lost badly against a PPP candidate.

gave a smashing blow to the old guard politicians waging their last ditch struggle to preserve the status quo.

Awami League's victory caused surprise to hardly anyone, although the margin of victory was not expected to be that large. The systematic discriminations against the eastern wing over the past two decades had convinced the Bengali people that attainment of regional autonomy was the necessary first step toward ending social injustice. The AL helped in crystallizing these feelings and provided a leadership for the attainment of this immediate objective. AL's incredible margin was probably made possible by the vacillating attitude towards the polls and the eventual withdrawal from the contest by East Pakistan's second most popular party, Maulana Bhashani's National Awami Party. The initial failure of the military government to provide relief to the cyclone affected people reinforced Bengali suspicions about the West Pakistani power structure and virtually sealed the outcome of the elections.

Emergence of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party as the major



political force in West Pakistan shocked many political pundits. The traditional hold of capitalists, feudal lords, mullahs, pirs, and regional, parochial, and kinship loyalties in West Pakistan had made many observers believe that inspite of the economic issues and the popularity of Mr. Bhutto and PPP, establishment parties, such as Daultana's CML, Qayum's QML, and PDP will have a lion's share in the assembly seats in West Pakistan. But the election results show a total rejection of these traditional "values". The result in the Punjab province is of special significance.

ROUT OF THE BRASS

At the height of the popular movement against the Ayub regime, a number of retired military officers threw their hats in the political ring. Banking on their military services, these generals and marshalls thought that the people will retain them as a political elite. These hopes were not fulfilled and the electorate rejected all the high ranking ex-military men. The best known of these officers, Air Marshall Asghar Khan was defeated by PPP's Khurshid Mir by 67,888 to 28,378 votes in Rawalpindi. Contesting on Jamaat-e-Islami's ticket, Maj-Gen. Umrao Khan was defeated by PPP's Rao Khurshid Ali Khan in Sahiwal by a margin of 68,918 votes to 12,124 votes. In Lahore, Maj-Gen Sarfraz (PDP) lost miserably against PPP chief Z.A. Bhutto. Brig. M. Siddique (CML) was beaten decisively by a PPP candidate in Murree area. PPP's Maj-Gen Akbar Khan, who, unlike other military candidates, was in the politics long before the prospects of elections, also lost. His margin of defeat in Karachi-I was not substantial. Most of the candidates for whom Air Marshall Nur Khan campaigned were defeated in Punjab.

cance where in the absence of regional grievances, the electorate refused to vote in backlash against regional movements elsewhere, and responded to economic issues. They not only accepted the leadership of a non-Punjabi but dumped most of the entrenched members of Punjab's power structure. The politics of personality also did not work since most of the victorious PPP candidates were relatively unknown lawyers, doctors, engineers, and community leaders who trounced some of the celebrities of the Punjabi aristocracy. The tricolor and the sword of PPP with the slogan of Islamic socialism were therallying point for the Punjabi voters. Memories of 1965 war with India and the personal popularity of Mr. Bhutto were the additional factors in PPP's amazing victory. It

Election results

Party	Contested	Number of seats					
		Pakistan	Bengal	Won Sind	Baluchistan	Punjab	NWFP
1. AL	169	160*	160	-	-	-	-
2. PPP	119	83	-	19	-	63	1
3. PML-Qayyum	132	9	-	1	-	1	7
4. JUI-Hazarvi	103	7	-	-	1	-	6
5. CML-Daultana	119	7	-	-	-	7	-
6. JUP-Ahlesunat	48	7	-	3	-	4	-
7. NAP-Wali	61	6	-	-	3	-	3
8. JI	148	4	-	2	-	1	1
9. PML-Quader	124	2	-	-	-	2	-
10. PDP	108	1	1	-	-	-	-
11. Independents	319	14	1	2	-	4	7
Total	1570	300	162	27	4	82	25

*Projected

is ironic that the Western press, which always wants to view the Asians as problems, did not appreciate our people's maturity. The *New York Times*, for example, described the results as a defeat for the Punjabis, forgetting that the winners in Punjab were also Punjabis. If Punjabi means the exploitative landlords, then such "Punjabis" were undoubtedly defeated.

The principal losers in Pakistan's elections was the "holy" alliance of the right wing capitalist and feudal politicians and mullahs and pirs, masquerading as "Islam lovers" but fighting among themselves for power. The complete debacle of CML, PDP, Jamaat-e-Islami, Convention ML, and Thanwi group of JUI, and less than satisfactory performance by Qayum ML and JUP-Ahle Sunnat clearly indicated that the people of Pakistan have become conscious of their rights and cannot be exploited by the slogan of "Islam in danger." The miserable fate of the Jamaat-e-Islami, the John Birch Society of Pakistan, was perhaps one of the most

VICTORY IN THE PRISON

During several months prior to the elections hundreds of PPP workers were thrown into jails by the military rulers. Some of these PPP men were candidates for the Constituent and Provincial assemblies. Maulana Kauser Niazi, who was sentenced to a six year's term for writing "objectionable" articles in his weekly *Shahab*, won handsomely in Sialkot by securing 95,210 votes against 26,267 obtained by his nearest rival. Another prisoner of military regime, Mukhtar Rana (PPP), defeated his nearest rival by 83,696 to 19,432 votes. In Gujranwala, one of the PPP candidates, Mian Manzoor Hassan, was sentenced shortly before the elections but he won by a 4-1 margin. Several provincial assembly candidates of PPP have also been contesting elections while sitting behind the bars.

significant acts in the drama of the debacle of the right. The Jamaat was generally considered to be the best organized party in West Pakistan, with a fanatic rank and file indoctrinated in a distorted fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. Its gimmicks of taking out processions on every religious holiday, issuing Eid messages, observing "Rounaq-e-Islam" and "Babul-e-Islam" days, burning cash registers and blaming others for burning Holy Quran, and spraying handbills from airplanes etc proved ineffective. The Pakistani people are determined to end their exploitation and want a new society based on justice, and are not ready to be misled by the medieval mullahs promising them a "Kingdom of God." The fate of Jamaat is a grim reminder to the section of the middle class which still lives in the past and connives against the rights of the masses that people will not tolerate elitism even if it is disguised as "love for Islam."

East Wing

In East Pakistan, where Awami League's landslide crushed the almost entire opposition, Nurul Amin (PDP) who defeated AL's Rafiquddin Bhuiyan and Col. Roy (Ind.) who won in Chittagong Hill Tracts, were the only opposition candidates to survive AL's avalanche. The losers included Fazlul Quader Chowdhury (Convention ML), Prof. Muzaffer Ahmad (NAP-Wali), industrialist A.K. Khan (Ind.), Maulvi Farid (PDP), Maulvi Ghulam Azam (JI), and former MNA Mahmood Ali (PDP). The performance of the candidates opposed to AL was pathetic, and a large number of them lost their security deposits. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who won both the seats he contested, set a record by getting 164,000 votes against CML chief Khawaja Khairuddin. This was topped by Ashraf Chaudri who got 181,744.

PUNJAB

Middle class professional people, belonging to PPP, shook up Punjab's power structure and wiped out the status quo, CML, as a political force in the province. However, Mr. Daultana, Shaukat Hayat, and a few other stalwarts of this conservative party managed to win their seats. Reactionaries of other parties, such as Nawabzada Nasrullah (PDP), Makhdoomzada Hassan Mahmood (QML), industrialist Rafique Saigol (JUP), Maulvi Tufail (JI), and Maulana Sattar Niazi (JUP) received shattering defeats; two of them, i.e. Nasrullah and Hassan Mahmood, were beaten in two constituencies each. Former military men who had plunged into politics on the tickets of right wing parties were also routed by their PPP rivals.

A new and small but significant right wing force appeared in the form of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan (Ahle Sunnat) which openly defended capitalism and gave party ticket to Rafique Saigol. JUP seems to have made a more successful defence of exploitation in the name of Islam than its old rival Jamaat-e-Islami whose narrow interpretation of Islam is becoming difficult to digest even for some of the conservatives.

SIND

Nowhere in the country were the old politicians given as stunning a blow as in Sind. PPP's steamroller buried underneath it such fossils of Sind's politics as M.A. Khuro, G.M. Sayed, Kazi Fazlullah, Kazi Akbar, Najmuddin Leghari, Yusuf Chandio, A.K. Brohi, and Pirzada Abdus Sattar. The only old master to survive was Haji Maula Bux Soomro (Ind.) who narrowly defeated another former minister Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan (PPP). In Karachi city, scion of the famous capitalist family, Saeed Haroon, came

(Continued on page 12)

Polls

(Continued from page 10)

a poor third in spite of a vituperative propaganda against his opponents by family's chain of newspapers which includes Dawn, Hurriyet, and Dawn Gujrati. He was beaten by barrister Sattar Gabole of PPP. Practitioners of old politics, such as Z.H. Lari, Zain Noorani, and Commodore Jamil were also defeated in Karachi. The city of Karachi, however, proved to be totally out of tune with the radical mood of the rest of the country and elected five right wing MNAs--two of JI, two of Ahle Sunnat, and one Jamaat-leaning independent--and two PPP candidates. Although JUP, JI, and PPP took an equal number of seats in Karachi, there were great differences in the number of popular votes polled by these parties, which were approximately 160,000, 168,000, and 203,000 respectively. Each party contested six seats. PPP candidates won in the areas inhabited mainly by old Karachiites. The right wing gain in Karachi and in one Muhajir dominated constituency in Hyderabad can be attributed to the identity crisis of urdu speaking Muahajirs who were exploited by Mullahs in the name of religion and an imaginary Sindhi threat. Ironically, the "Jeeye Sind" leader, G.M. Sayed, who caused a Muahajir backlash, was rejected by Sindhi people who chose a non-regionalist party.

In contrast to PPP's Punjab candidates, its Sind nominees were mostly rich and middle landlords, including Makhdoom of Hala. However, most of them are young, educated, and progressive.

Baluchistan

Baluchistan election results produced the least surprise. In Baluchi speaking areas the three candidates of NAP-Wali were elected as expected. One of its nominees was a student leader and son of a peasant by the name of Abdul Hai Baluch who secured the highest number of votes in Baluchistan and defeated, among others, a former prince. Another prince was defeated by Ghous Bux Bizenjo. The pukhtoon area seat was taken by a JUI-Hazarvi candidate who defeated Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, the lone crusader for Pakhtoonistan. Although tribal loyalties played an important role in Baluchistan, economic issues and consistent opposition of Mari, Bugti, Mengal, and Bizenjo to oppression from without by Iskander Mirza and Ayub and from within by the Nawabs solidified NAP's hold in the province.

FRONTIER

The Frontier voters were the only ones in the country who did not show a clear preference for any one party. As in Sind and Punjab, regionalism received a setback in NWFP and the architect of one unit's dissolution, NAP-Wali, managed to win only three NA seats against all expectations that it will sweep the polls. The politics of personality, however, found its last stronghold in the Frontier where Qayyum Khan won in all three constituencies he ran from, and four others got elected on his coattails. A surprisingly strong showing was made by Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Hazarvi) which secured six seats. This group of maulvis, some of whom belong to the Devband school, are a strange brand of clerical politics. On one hand they denounce capitalism and feudalism and call for a holy war against American imperialism. But on the other hand, they have vowed not to cooperate with leftists at any cost. This group is probing to form a coalition ministry with Qayyum ML in NWFP.

Disproportionate allocation of seven seats to the tribal areas created further confusion in Frontier politics because all the candidates in these areas ran as independents. The tribal and parochial loyalties which were by and large rejected in Sind and Punjab continued to play an important part in NWFP. Unless there is a strong swing in favor of one of the parties in the provincial elections, Frontier will face the possibility of becoming the only reservoir of unstable politics in the country. While voters forgave Qayyum Khan for his apology to Ayub, Ayub's brother Bahadur Khan was not spared. He was defeated by Qayyum in Hazara; Qayyum also

beat Hayat Khan Sherpao of PPP narrowly and Arbab Sikandar (NAP-Wali) in Peshawer. The two seats to be vacated by Qayyum can be taken by PPP and NAP candidates. Other notable losers in N.W.F.P. were Z.A. Bhutto, Nawab Hoti, Ghulam Mohammad Lundkhwar, and Yusuf Khatak.

Emergence of Awami League and Pakistan People's Party as the principal parties in the general elections opens a new chapter in Pakistan's history. For the first time middle class politicians with little prior political background will be dominating the political scene in a country where the economic power is in the hands of about two dozen families. It will be interesting to see what the existing power structure will do to preserve its vested interest. It appears that the major bargaining on the constitutional issues will be between Awami League and the Military. This will be so because (1) Awami League has an absolute majority in the constituent assembly and it does not need to bargain with PPP, (2) PPP does not represent West Pakistan's power structure, and (3) President Yahya Khan has reserved the right of vetoing the draft constitution. The political parties which have spent so much money and energy on winning these elections would not like the assembly to be dissolved. The military, which may be called upon to represent West Pakistani vested interests, might take advantage of this situation and try to work out a compromise with Awami League. However, the massive public support of AL and PPP will probably restrain the military from being overtly demanding on the elected representatives.

The major parties, themselves, will have to resolve some of their contradictions. Awami League has won on the platform of regional autonomy but it will hopefully form the first representative government at the center. It might be tempted to sacrifice some of its principles in order to rule effectively at the center. But taking a longer view of the problem, AL is unlikely to dilute its demand for autonomy voluntarily. The PPP on the other hand does not favor too loose a federation, but in view of the current party position it may not be a participant in the first government at the center. In order to implement its ideological program in Sind and Punjab--where it is likely to form the government--it will need much more provincial power than it was initially ready to concede to others. Although emergence of two strong parties in the country reflects a broad consensus among the people and promises a stable government in the near future, the regional exclusiveness of the two parties and the role of military might make constitution making more difficult than it appears.

